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244 824 calabash are cultivated: a, apotonong kwa'yepwi, large, spherical in shape except for small "spout" near the stem, grows on ground vine; b, moruttuku, long, like a water melon, grows on ground vine like a melon; c, pawsi, small and elongated, grows on bush; d, shi'-iyongkwa'imyako epu, small and globular, grows on bush. Types a and b are planted from seed. They are perennial. Types c and d are planted from shoots cut from a living bush. The vines bear 412 in seven months, the bush types in a year and a half. The pap 226 from the inside of the fruit is sometimes used as fish bait and is 262 sometimes cooked as a vegetable, but the principal use to which the fruits are put is in dried form as vessels for liquids. (See section on Utensils.) An interesting example of sympathetic 789 magic is the practise of tying to the calabash plants the shells of the large landsnail, which in shape and color often resemble a small calabash. This practise is held to insure a good yield from the plant.

248 The cotton (maru'epu) trees are also planted near the houses. They are planted from seed and reach a height of eight to ten feet. They are said to bear in four to five months. Only one variety is grown. The seeds are removed by hand from the cotton bolls and are not used for any other purpose.

222 262 137 A large number of foods are gathered from the forest in season. The following is only a partial list of the edible bush products.

Plums (mope)[1] — bear once a year, about January; round and greenish in color; eaten raw and boiled.

Waiti — fruit in a pod like beans, grows on tree; seeds surrounded by sweet velvety meat; three varieties: paidyowa, long pod; posindyo, small short pod, grows along river banks; anakara, broad stubby pod. The seeds are sucked, but the fruit has little food value.

Asipoko — a round reddish fruit with soft tart flesh.

Arawiya — plum-like fruit.

Sawari nuts (*Caryocar [Pekea] tuberculosa*) — the Brazil nut of commerce.

Mora seed (*Dimorphandra mora Bth.*) — in times of scarcity grated and baked into bread, sometimes mixed with cassava.

Greenheart seed (*Nectandra rodioei Hooker*) — same use as mora seed.

Ballimanni seeds (?sp.) usually eaten by accouri and labba, but used by man in time of want.

Cashew nuts (*Anacardium sp.*).

The fruit of the kokerite palm (*Maximiliana regia*).

Fruit of the ite palm (*Mauritia flexuosa*).

[1] *Spondias lutea.*

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work, she tucks up her braids into a knot on the back of her head. Delousing is a favorite leisure-time activity of the women. Often one will see a group of women sitting on the ground, in the shade of the house, all facing in the same direction, each woman straddling the hips of the one in front of her while she herself is deloused by her friend behind her. The lice are cracked between the incisor teeth of the searcher and spat out (Plate 13, *a*). Men and boys wear their hair cropped close to the head, with the exception of a fringe of "bangs" which hangs down over the forehead into the eyes.

Although I measured and observed some hundred and twenty-five adults below Towakaima, I found no tattooing on their skins. In the settlements around the falls (Sineparu and Towakaima) and those above the falls, I found tattooing on both men and women. In all cases the decoration was confined to the inner surface of the forearm. I did not have the opportunity of seeing the process, but informants were consistent in stating that wild honey is the only substance introduced into the incisions. The skin is cut with bottle glass (knives and cutlasses are too dull) or with the point of a needle. In either case a continuous incision is made; no tattooing is done by the puncture method. It is difficult to understand how wild honey, dirty as it is, contains sufficient pigment, without being mixed with lamp black, to produce the blue designs which result from tattooing. A woman may have a series of long parallel lines running diagonally across the inner surface of her forearm. This is said to make the drink which she manufactures taste better. If this decoration appears on both arms, a woman is said to be able to work the cassiri more easily. Some informants stated that a woman could pass drink to a man only with the arm which is tattooed, but I did not find this consistently true in practise, even in the villages of the upper Barama. A greater variety of figures appear in the men's tattooing, such as crosses, circles, squares. Informants were unanimous in stating that these designs had no magical or religious significance. However, a fortuitous type of tattooing connected with magic appears on the arms of practically all men throughout the area: in preparing a bina, or hunting charm, a series of short transverse incisions is made on the inner surface of the right forearm, over the brachioradialis muscle, and into these incisions the ashes, juice, or powder

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304 789 made from the bina plant or animal is rubbed, as described in the section on religion. When these incisions heal, a series of short transverse blue lines remains.

SHELTERS AND THEIR FURNITURE

361 THE majority of settlements or villages are located at some distance from the river side. The only exceptions to this rule are those of Teki and Powis Hill, both of which were established on the river bank through the influence of gold prospectors who wished Indian labor in the vicinity of their operations, and Turingbang and Baramita on the upper reaches of the river, where it is not navigable. Other settlements range in distance from the river from half a mile, as in the case of Kariako, to an estimated fifteen miles, as in the case of Huri.

Although defense was possibly the major consideration leading to a secluded location of a village in former times, the requirements of the hunting and agricultural activities of the natives seem to be most important at present. Successful hunting requires a wide range of virgin forest on all sides, a territory in which the hunters are not handicapped by competition from neighboring villagers or passers-by on the river. Furthermore, it is the practice to locate [312] cassava fields on hills or slopes in order to facilitate drainage of the soil. Suitable facilities for natural drainage are most often found at some distance from the river.

The village is always located on or near the banks of a creek which provides the water used by the people. Access to the river is afforded by trails and paths through the jungle. (See section on the settlement of Sawari.)

342 361 In so far as a Carib orients his house at all, he endeavors to place it so that the long axis runs north and south, an arrangement which prevents the sunlight from entering the gable ends. This type of orientation, while frequent, is not universal, and if the house happens to be protected by the shade of trees, little attention is given to the matter. Other considerations affecting the choice of the site are privacy combined with ready accessibility to neighbors, convenience to water supply, and nearness to the field. Change of residence is not an uncommon thing in this region, due to such causes as the necessity of locating new fields

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piaiyen usually has contact with one or more tiger spirits, who may be used by him to discipline the less ferocious spirits of his circle. The tiger spirits are believed to be the ghosts of dead tigers. All other animals also have spirits, which become ghosts upon their death. Boba root is used by the hunter as a protection against the spirit of any animal he may have killed. For instance, if he has killed a tiger or any other animal which has a dangerous spirit, he scrapes the roots of the boba tree and makes a salve which he puts on his skin. Then he crawls under the buttressed roots of any large tree. The boba salve is believed to entangle the spirit of the dead animal so that it can do no harm to the hunter. In crawling under the roots, the hunter scrapes the spirit off himself. Animals are also amenable to the machinations of spirits of beings and orders in addition to the tiger spirit. Thus, a dog that barks in its sleep is believed to be suffering from the interference of spirits. However, the only way in which a member of one of the five major classes of nature spirits can be killed (i.e. removed from interference in worldly affairs) is by being devoured by a tiger spirit.

Each cassava field is watched over by a spirit of the cassava called Piuku. The precise connection between this being and the Ume, or hill spirits, is not clear. It is believed that each hill in the bush is under the care of a group of Ume, who after the field is cut and cultivated, apparently abdicate in favor of the Piuku. The Ume live in a settlement of their own under the hill, which serves as a roof. The Piuku is not a member of the Ume order, but nevertheless it is not unfriendly toward the Ume. An abandoned field reverts to the Ume spirits, and in the rare cases of fields without cassava no Piuku is present. It is not believed, on the other hand, that each separate cassava plant has a spirit of its own, nor are the other plants of the field associated with spirits. Piuku is thus a sort of agricultural deity especially associated with cassava plants. Concerning the manifestations of the Piuku to human beings, an informant said, "Once my wife and I were digging cassava in a field. Nearby I hear a groaning m'm'm'm. I do not know what it is so I go to the piaiyen and he says it is the Piuku." Another informant said, "The piaiyen told me the Piuku is like a big white man big head, broad shoulders. Has a white skin covered with shiny buttons, but wears no clothes," a belief which is obviously acculturated.

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the pill went down, showing that the spirit had signified that he had become accustomed to it.

At the end of three months the neophytes again gathered and the teacher squeezed tobacco juice into their eyes for the last time, and they were considered ready to practice.

During the period of probation following the initiation just described, the neophyte keeps in touch with his teacher, who instructs him in many matters, including the knowledge of herbs, the ways of the spirits, and the technique of shooting stones into other individuals. The latter process is used theoretically as a means of self protection and retaliation by the medicine man. The technique and philosophy of "shooting" is fully described in our section on Crime and Punishment. A piaiyen never is supposed to shoot a spirit stone into an individual merely from mischief or because he has been hired to do so by some layman. However, medicine men are capricious and often take offense at some wrong which they fancy that an individual has committed against them. Consequently, many ills and pains suffered by laymen are attributed to attacks of this kind of piaiyen. The method whereby the shooting of spirit stones is taught is as follows. The neophyte must practice under the supervision of his teacher with a small arrow made of the central rib of the kokerite leaf and a small bow of yarri-yarri. A small cotton ball, about one and one-half inches in diameter, which serves as the target, is suspended from one of the cross pieces of the house by a piece of string. While the novice shoots at this target with the bow and arrow the teacher tickles him in the ribs from behind. The novice must prove his marksmanship in this way before he is able to shoot spirit stones. If he acquires enough proficiency so that the cotton ball stops dead when he hits it with the arrow, he will be able to kill when shooting with spirit stones; if, in his most successful attempts, the ball and arrow turn around a number of times after a hit is made, his future victims will recover in as many days. Next the teacher places a spirit stone in the novice's mouth and draws it from the mouth through the shoulder and through the arm three times, in order to make the tube in the arm through which the shooting is done. The fourth time the stone is drawn through the arm it lodges above the elbow joint.

In regard to obtaining control over spirits, the following instruc-

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791 tion is given. The teacher makes a long cigarette of tobacco wrapped
789 in kakarelli bark and tosses it to the novice. If the latter is able to catch the cigarette between the second and third fingers (where the "muzzle" of the shooting tube is located), it is a sign that as time goes on he will be able to get into communication with any spirit at all. Also in this connection, the teacher will frequently send a spirit stone to the novice during the night. The novice must see it coming and catch it.

796 To make a good cassava crop, the piaiyen of the settlement calls
787 the spirit of the field, Piuku. First a toakai, or consulting room, is constructed of manicol palm (Plate 25, *a*). A goblet of cassiri, which must be made by a preadolescent girl, is given to the priest, and he enters the toakai while the population of the settlement gathers outside. Inside the hut, the piaiyen places the goblet in the middle of the floor and then drinks an infusion of green tobacco leaves in water, a potion which is imbibed by the piaiyen at the start of most of his religious and healing rituals. The tobacco water causes the practitioner to "speak with the spirits," that is, to have visions or hallucinations. The medicine man, squatting on the side of the hut opposite the door, then sings a chant to the Piuku, asking him to come and partake of the offering provided by the people. In this ceremony the piaiyen uses no rattle, because Piuku is not included among those spirits which are represented by spirit stones. Neither is tobacco smoke used. When the spirit arrives in the hut his presence is made known to the people outside by a low humming noise, the voice of the spirit. Thereupon all the people outside the hut speak to him individually (without formula), asking him for a good crop of cassava and imploring him to drink of the cassiri. The Piuku answers with his characteristic low humming noise, which all can hear but only the piaiyen can understand. Then there is the sound of drinking, and shortly afterwards the piaiyen emerges from the hut holding the goblet in his hand for the inspection of the populace. The contents of the goblet are clear like water and are icy cold, indicating that Piuku has drunk the essence of the brew. Then the piaiyen goes back into the hut and sings a song, thanking the spirit and telling him now to go back to the field, from which he has come for the occasion. After this the piaiyen emerges from the hut a second time and informs the people as to whether the spirit's answer to their

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832 of use. Although very good results are reported from the use of certain love charms, only desperately unrequited lovers or individuals with adulterous or home-breaking intentions resort to such extremes. Prolonged coyness or indifference is not a noticeable feature of Carib courtship and before marriage, at least, it is only the extremely unattractive individual who cannot prevail upon the desired one to share a couch occasionally. Sexual communion seems to take the edge off romantic yearning. In short, there is little love of the "moon-calf" variety between Carib young people. A man who wishes to persuade a virtuous wife to leave her husband is the most frequent user of love magic.

754 **Miscellaneous Magical Beliefs and Practices.** The aremi emu, or professional sorcerer, is concerned chiefly in acting as magical agent for individuals who wish either to do harm to another person or to seek revenge. The functions and techniques of this practitioner are described in our chapter on Crime and Punishment because of their close connection with law and order.

754 It is well to point out here, however, that the methods of the
791 aremi differ from those of the piaiyen in the following respects. (1) The aremi does not use a maraka or rattle, because he is unable to talk with the spirits which are represented by pieces of stone. (2) To induce the psychic state necessary for his art, the aremi drinks an infusion of red peppers, while the piaiyen uses an infusion of green tobacco. (3) The aremi, although able to divine trouble, is unable to talk directly with any of the more powerful spirits as the piaiyen does, but relies almost entirely upon magical practices. On the other hand, both medicine men and sorcerers use tobacco smoke in their practices.

Herewith are mentioned certain magical practices and beliefs which are within the scope of laymen.

224 The first time a dog is used for hunting, it cannot be allowed
789 to eat the flesh or bones of an animal which it has hunted. If such occurs, the dog will be useless for hunting in the future. It is believed that contact with the animal flesh weakens the dog's powers of hunting. Orupere, a plant called by the name of a giant mythic snake (Myth 3) because the veins in the leaves are red and branch out like the tongues of this supernatural monster, is rubbed on a hunting dog's nose to make his smell keener. It is extremely difficult for any living thing to escape the clutches of

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the monster's tongues. On the theory of similarity and contact, the dog's nose absorbs the ability to hunt all things down. 789 224

Puppies are frequently protected from illness by a string of cotton tied around the right leg just above the point of the astragulus. The progress through the body of spirits which may have entered the animal through its feet is cut off by the string around the leg. 789 825

The shells of the large river snail, which bear a general resemblance to the globular gourd, are tied to gourd bushes as a means of insuring a good crop.

The snake is believed to live forever, because in changing its skin it becomes young again each year. The same is said to be true of the bush crab, which doffs its shell each year.

The larynx bones of the "howling baboon" (*Myeetes*) are charred, pulverized, mixed with water, and drunk as an infusion as a cure for coughs and throat trouble.

Dreams. If a man dreams of a dead person, he believes that he is actually seeing the ghost of the dead walking by at that moment. 828 787

If a person dreams of a faraway place, he believes that his spirit is visiting that place while he sleeps. "If I dream of Waini Saw Mill (a hundred miles away), it means that my spirit is out for a walk."

When a living person is seen in a dream, the Caribs have difficulty in explaining why the person in question did not dream that his spirit was at the point mentioned by the first dreamer. One informant was perplexed by the following: "Two times I dreamed the same dream. My brother and I were paddling a korial in the Wori-wori rapids (on the Barama) each time. But my brother did not dream that at all."

It is believed that when a man dreams of intercourse with a specific woman, the representation of her which he sees is merely the disguise assumed by a malevolent snake spirit, and that it is not the actual spirit of the woman in question. Certain female spirits take delight in assuming the forms of living women and appearing to men in dreams. An erotic dream of this sort is highly undesirable, because it is believed that a man will become seriously ill after such a dream unless he immediately confesses it to the other members of the settlement. The spirit which he sees in a dream of this sort will make the dreamer ill and try to kill him so